Volume LXXXIV No. 20 September 2, 1966 30 cents

commonweal

TROUBLE WITH CAMBODIA

Oscar G. Chase

IRELAND'S HOT SUMMER

Desmond Fisher

F. D. R. JR.—THE LAST RACE

William V. Shannon

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NEWS AND VIEWS

Great Moments in Medicine:

*"Only 40 percent of all human ailments are found and labeled by doctors and 60 percent are missed. Of those that are ostensibly found, half are diagnosed in error. Given an ailment in the body of a patient, then, the chances of the American physician diagnosing it correctly are one in five."

*"A survey of a university hospital indicates that the average nurse makes one error for every six medications given. The typical hospitalized patient can thus expect to be the subject of medication error once every day."

—from *The Doctors*, by Martin L. Gross, Random House, $6.95.

•

Philip Scharper, writing in the current issue of *The Critic*, suggests that the Catholic Church could use ombudsmen to help resolve problems of freedom and authority. "The ombudsman," Scharper writes, "does not exist to attack or diminish authority. Indeed, he serves to protect authority by giving those who hold it an opportunity to offer public reasons for their actions in cases where injustice seems to have been done." Since an ombudsman is supposed to function as a disinterested party in any dispute, he adds, "it might be just as well if the ombudsman were not even a Roman Catholic. Robert McAfee Brown would make a splendid one, as would Dr. John Bennett or Rabbi Abraham Heschel."

•

American business is underwriting apartheid in South Africa to the tune of more than $500 million in investments. To direct American public opinion to the problem, the Committee of Conscience Against Apartheid has been formed under the honorary chairmanship of A. Philip Randolph. The committee includes Bayard Rustin, Al Loewenthal, Nat Hentoff, James Farmer, Reinhold Niebuhr, Father Daniel Berrigan and Congressman Farbstein. Address: 211 East 43rd St., N.Y.C.

Quotes we liked this week:

*" 'I don't believe there is total sexual satisfaction outside Jesus Christ,' exclaimed Dr. (Billy) Graham. Dr. Graham will adopt a neutral attitude to the problems of Vietnam and Rhodesia." —A. Kogut in the London *Evening Standard*.

*"I happen to believe that our interest in Vietnam is not just philanthropic, not just charitable."—Vice-President Humphrey in the *Christian Science Monitor*.

•

McLean's magazine, the *Saturday Evening Post* of Canada, has lapsed into unusual local-angle coverage of the *aggiornamento* by claiming that Canada is behind it all. A breathless sub-head on a pro-*aggiornamento* article in the August 20 issue reads: "Pope John XXIII started the thaw—and the Roman Catholic Church hasn't been the same since. . . . (it is) all part of a startling, quick-moving revolution, being led by Canada, that is altering an age-less faith."

•

Archbishop Roberts of England is still getting his customary treatment at the hands of his fellow English bishops. He was forbidden on June 2 by the Archbishop of Cardiff to participate in the final session of a Benedictine exhibition. *New Christian* now reports that he has also been banned in the dioceses of Lancaster, Menevia, Plymouth, Clifton and Northhampton. He was even banned from Portsmouth when that diocese was without a bishop.

•

Brochure from something called the "Catholic Hospital Plan":

"Dear Catholic Friend:"

". . . As a Catholic it is to your advantage to go to a Catholic hospital when sickness or accident strikes. In a Catholic hospital, you not only have your *physical* needs cared for but isn't it a comfort to know that spiritual guidance is always available? In addition . . . your cash benefits are actually *greater* if you go to a Catholic hospital.

"As a Catholic, doesn't it make *good sense* for *you* to be protected by a *Catholic* health plan? . . ."

(Good grief, yes, particularly with so many *Catholic* diseases going around!)

•

A complete (and utter) news item:

ASUNCION, Paraguay (NC) (July 20)—Priests, ministers, rabbis and lay people met in Asuncion for a conference on population and birth problems sponsored by the Paraguayan Center of Anthropological Studies.

Father Ramon Juste, S.J., dean of the liberal arts school of Paraguay's Catholic University, discussed the teachings of the Second Vatican Council on marriage and family life. He emphasized that every form of birth control, including periodic continence and total abstinence from marital relations, was illicit and against God's will.

Communidad, a Catholic weekly, praised the conference and pointed out that there is no reason to accept foreign philosophies and cultures, and that Latin American values are not easily adapted to North American ideas on birth control.

•

Gary MacEoin, in his syndicated column, points out that the disastrous Vatican Council decree on the mass media was actually a step backward from what Pope Pius XII and Pope John XXIII taught. Both Pius and John stressed the need of the mass media to *search* for truth. The Council decree, incredibly, says: "The proper use of this right demands that the matter communicated be objectively true." In other words, the press, in the search for truth, must restrict itself to printing only what is already established (by whom?) as objective truth. MacEoin offers the opinion that the same inability of the bishops to grasp the nature and requirements of the mass media "underlies most of the acrimonious exchanges between some of our bishops and some Catholic publications and writers."

JOHN LEO

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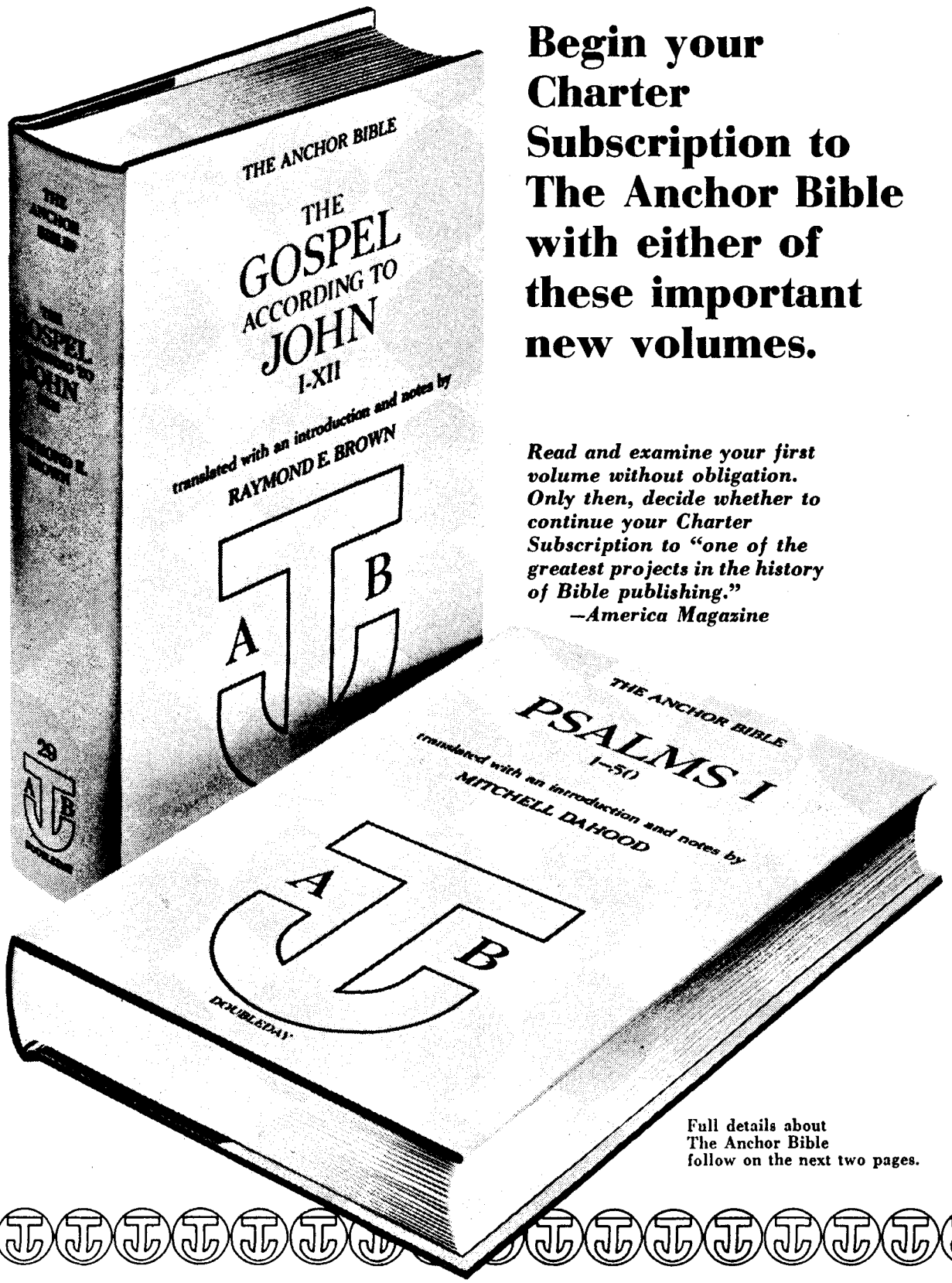

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translated with an introduction and notes by Mitchell Dahood, S.J., Professor of Ugaritic Language and Literature at the Pontifical Biblical Institute, Rome. This volume, which includes the first fifty Psalms, presents a new translation that is vivid and often provocative. It is the first translation of the Psalms to take full account of the Ras Shamra Ugaritic texts which scholars have studied for the past 30 years. *Volume 16.* Volume 17 will comprise Psalms 51 to 150.

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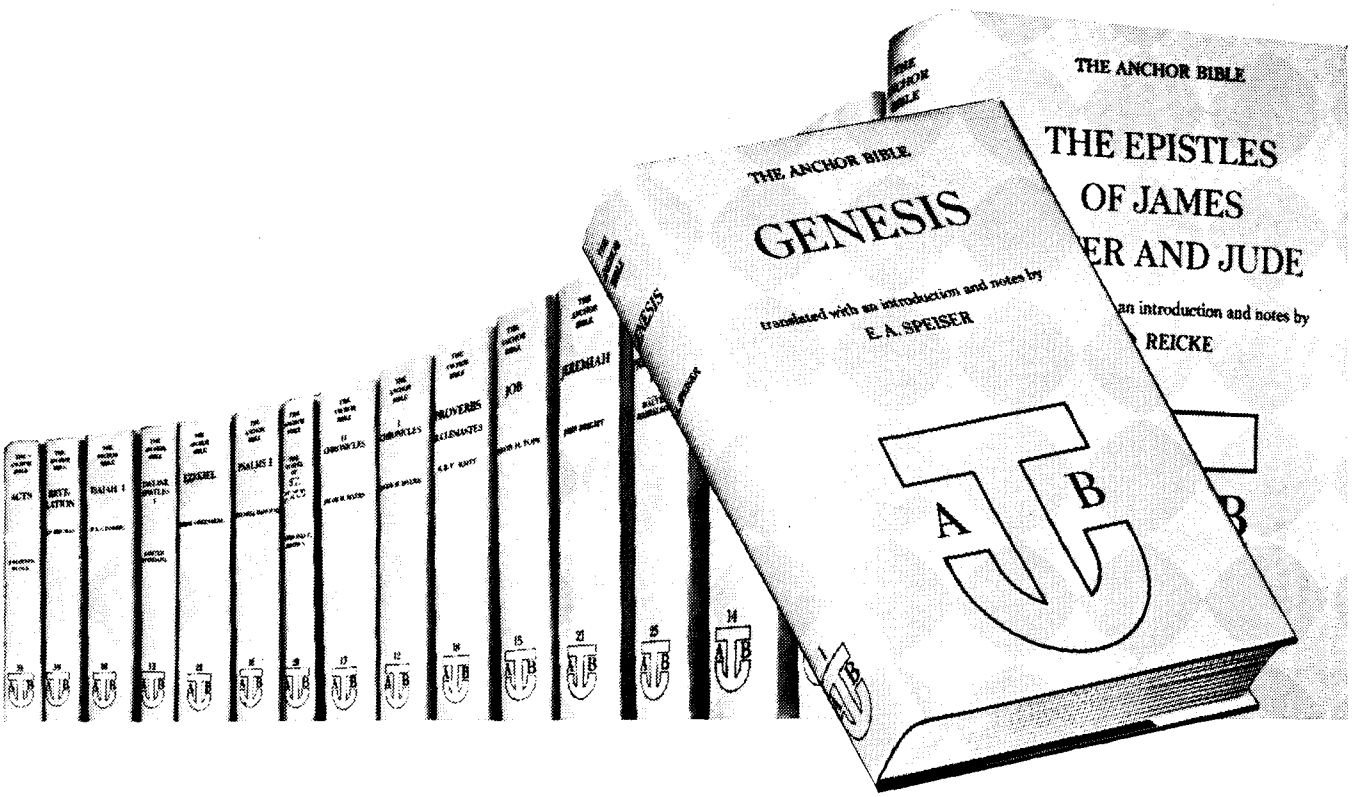

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Frederick L. Moriarty, S.J., of Weston College, Massachusetts, summed up much of the critical reaction when he wrote: "There is every reason for enthusiasm on the part of all who love the Bible. The choice of contributors guaranteed, from the start, a high standard of scholarship. Each author is already well known for creative and significant work in the area for which he has been asked to write. It is no exaggeration to say that, when completed, The Anchor Bible will be indispensable for all serious students of the Bible."

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CORRESPONDENCE

Redoubtable

Houston, Tex.

To the Editors: Dan Sullivan, in "Sex and the Person" (July 22), remarked that "Sex is esteemed by many simply for being the last, utterly impregnable redoubt of the Irrational and Mystery left in the world." May I say that for many, Mr. Sullivan has now attained this distinction. EDWARD ROSS

Loss and Fulfillment

St. Cloud, Minn.

To the Editors: Concerning the article, "Sex and the Person," I am impressed by the author's orgasm-fixation. The experience which he describes as a "total self-loss" cannot be the depth and height of sexual fulfillment. I think self-loss is precisely the limitation of the orgasm. Based upon this aspect of self-loss, the orgasm becomes for many people a relief from self and even an escape from self.

In quoting Teilhard, Mr. Sullivan shows a gross misunderstanding of Teilhard's insight into the nature of human sexuality. According to Teilhard, man's sexual life is to evolve to a trans-orgasmic state of fulfillment with virginal marriage unmistakably implied. The virginal marriage between man and woman would be a great source of confusion for Mr. Sullivan. Perhaps this is why he cannot see what Teilhard is really saying. Because of his orgasmic philosophy of human sexuality, Mr. Sullivan misunderstands Teilhard himself as a person. "Teilhard's intuition, as a celibate," he says, "must be explained in the way one explains the imprisoned man's acute awareness of the meaning of freedom. Teilhard never resolved, theoretically or personally, the dilemma this insight posed for him."

Regardless of Teilhard's insight into the excellence of sexual relationship between man and woman, the celibate priesthood was, for him, a sexual fulfillment, and not a prison in which he longed for an orgasmic fulfillment. Teilhard saw virginity as the completeness of sexual fulfillment. He says this in the very source which Mr. Sullivan quotes, the essay on the evolution of chastity. He also seems to say as much in his essay on a personalistic universe.

The orgasm is not the greatest sexual experience of man, nor the experience that reaches the fullness of sexual love between man and woman. There are possibilities for sexual communion and completion which the orgasm cannot reach. This seems to be the profound implication that lies at the foundation of Christianity. The virginal depth of human sexuality is yet to be discovered in all the impact of its splendor.

MARY ROSERA JOYCE

Not Necessarily Erotic

Washington, D.C.

To the Editors: Dan Sullivan's article on sex and the person offers valuable insights into human sexuality, but it also contains an insidious error. In arguing correctly that the person represents a composite unity of which sex is an integral part he falls into the error of equating the person with his sexuality. The person as a unity, a totality, embodies infinite potentialities, all of which can never be fulfilled within a lifetime.

Thus, although it is true that the person always acts as a man or a woman, that is, as a sexual being, it is not true, as Mr. Sullivan implies, that the self-fulfillment of the person demands loving union with another person in sexual relations. So great are the riches of the human person that he may freely choose to deny himself full expression of his sexual potentialities. This does not mean that he denies his sexuality—this he cannot do—but it does mean that his fulfillment as a person can be accomplished without full sexual satisfaction. To demand sexual satisfaction as an essential requirement for self-fulfillment is as ludicrous as to demand that the person learn all that he is capable of knowing, for man is as much an intellectual being as he is a sexual being.

Mr. Sullivan in the zealous articulation of his thesis fails to recognize an undeniably vital dimension of the person —that of freedom. Many opportunities for fulfillment await the free and loving (not necessarily erotic) response of the person. As Mr. Sullivan himself says, "The horizon of every self is infinite." The field of choice for personal fulfillment is much broader than Mr. Sullivan will admit. . . . E. R. RYAN

Oversimplified?

Delhi, N.Y.

To the Editors: I read with interest and more than a little disappointment Dan Sullivan's "Sex and the Person." The turgidity of the prose style hides several oversimplifications.

Mr. Sullivan writes of a case of "psychogenic speechlessness" analyzed by Merleau-Ponty "where sexual withdrawal is of such general significance as to lead to the conclusion that man's 'higher' faculties can never 'outstrip' or transcend his sexual élan." He seems unaware of the danger of uncritically accepting a psychologically abnormal situation as a measure of normalcy. It may be a measure—and it may not be.

Does sexual love ever really permit us to reach the "whole person" Sullivan speaks of? However beautiful and spiritually rewarding sexual love is, is it not imperfect in ultimately denying us what we seek? Is it not, after all (except in the delightful youthful fancy of young lovers and the abiding fancy of poets), human and therefore imperfect? Is not the happiness of sexual love, like all other human happiness, at best partial and fleeting, and therefore disappointing? It would seem that even in the context of this article there would be a place for a reminder that sexuality can be overvalued, too much can be expected from it. And if neurosis can be briefly defined as a serious inability or indisposition to face reality, it would seem that expecting too much from sex could be a seed of neurosis. All this Mr. Sullivan tends to overlook.

His contention that in Catholic moral theology "the person [is] eventually elevated above an infra-personal level of sexuality" is, I suppose, a defensible generalization. But to suggest it is a "means of protecting the celibate option" is to

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impute bad faith or a subconscious defense mechanism to celibate theologians.

That Chardin notes the "link between sexual union and procreation" decreases and the frequency (etc.) of sexual acts increases as "we ascend the evolutionary ladder" may be true. And when Chardin and other evolutionists speak of the changes worked or working over millions of years, it is natural enough for us to want to think that our generation has "arrived" at the fulfillment of the becoming process. But it is rather imprudent of us really to think so. After all, if there have been millions of years of development behind us, there are undoubtedly millions ahead of us. And it would not be at all unwise for us to retain enough sense of irony (and of humor) to realize that our preoccupation with sexuality may in reality be a symptom of the decline of our civilization, a symptom that merely *resembles* a quite different sexual enlightenment millions of years (and millions of theories) removed from us.

Similarly, Mr. Sullivan suggests that all of us can confirm that "rape, masturbation, compulsive philandering are not proof of a primordial disorientation or of an inescapable inner alienation built on sex, but of a self artificially and contingently divided. . . ." In all frankness I find myself unable either to confirm or reject the idea, but I think one thing is clear that he might have mentioned, if only in the interest of comprehensiveness—that the conditions that prompt man to value these "lesser goods" (pardon the Thomism) more highly than he ought seem rather to be compounded than alleviated by the writings of most sexualists to date. And it is not entirely unreasonable to suggest that sexual aberrations may be as often caused by a surfeit of sex as by aversion to it.

I can accept Mr. Sullivan's observation that the Vatican Council (and traditional Catholic moral theology) has implied that "the sexual passion is a *lower* one *requiring* elevating or adorning." But one may consider this expression in many contexts. Mr. Sullivan attacks the least reasonable one. The context which is considerably more appeal-

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COMMONWEAL A Weekly Review of Public Affairs, Literature and the Arts.
Second-class postage paid in Philadelphia, Pa. Printed in the USA and published weekly, except biweekly Christmas-New Year's and from mid-July to mid-September, by Commonweal Publishing Co, 232 Madison Ave, New York, NY 10016
MUrray Hill 3-2042. Copyright © 1966 Commonweal Publishing Co, Inc.
US and Canada, $9 a year. Foreign $11. Single copies 30¢

UN-AMERICAN VAUDEVILLE ACT

Back in the days of vaudeville, even a bad act could keep going if it could manage at least one good show a year. The House Un-American Activities Committee, that last outpost of American vaudeville, has just registered its annual comic success, thus guaranteeing its existence for another season. A major reason for its triumph was the skillful direction of the Committee Chairman, Edwin E. Willis. His comment that those who aided the Vietcong were "yellow-bellied cowards" struck just the right thematic note in an inquiry which purportedly aimed at collecting information for legislation. The legislation in question was another stroke of theatrical genius—a bill making it a felony for an American citizen to aid "persons engaged in hostilities against the United States." With these ingredients the hearings could hardly fail, but the producers had still another trick up their sleeves. They called upon some admirably young, unawed and strident members of various radical organizations to give testimony. After that, nothing was left but for the Committee's act to end with the traditional prat-fall, in this case well executed by the acting chairman of the hearings, Representative Joe R. Pool of Texas. The hearings, he announced, had gathered sufficient information to prove that "revolutionary hard-core Communists" in America were helping the Vietcong.

If there was one flaw in the show, it was probably its ear-splitting noise. The line between broad comedy and outright silliness is at best a fine one. Too much shouting and wrestling are tell-tale clues that the line has been crossed. In this case, the arrest of some fifty people, including a lawyer, suggested that the stage directions were not being followed, that the actors were writing their own jokes as they went along. It is not customary, for instance, for witnesses to openly admit Communist affiliations; they are supposed to take the Fifth Amendment. Nor is it customary (most of the time) for members of the audience to heckle and out-shout the Committee members. Hushed solemnity, an air of high seriousness and suppressed indignation is the expected etiquette. The Committee, one has to conclude, chose good

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witnesses, just a bit too good. It got the testimony it wanted, but it had to pay an unexpectedly high price for the service.

And that may have proved its undoing. Far from helping along the legislation it is promoting, the Committee managed to do it a fair amount of harm. Though the Committee confidently predicted that the House would vote favorably on the legislation, there are few signs that it is prepared to do anything of the kind. More importantly, Senator Dirksen—a man hardly famous for civil libertarianism—pointed out the dangerous vagueness of the House bill, adding that it had little chance in the Senate. In short, at a moment when there is just enough war hysteria in the air to lead Congress into some kind of ridiculous law, the House Un-American Activities Committee managed to play the part of its own worst enemy. Even lovers of patriotic vaudeville balk when things get silly.

There is, however, a possible moral here. For years, many high-minded, utterly serious groups have tried to have the House Committee abolished. Every year a bill is introduced toward this end, a bill which gets nowhere at all. And every year, too, magazines like this one write editorials condemning the Committee and all it has come to stand for. They don't get anywhere either. Far from going under, the Committee flourishes.

What the recent hearings show, however, is that the Committee can't cope with a total and utter contempt on the part of the witnesses it calls and their supporters in the audience. Without the prop of nervous solemnity, a hearing just cannot be conducted. The witnesses pulled out this prop as violently as they could. They succeeded brilliantly in reducing the hearings to a silly shambles. Ordinarily, such antics would be reprehensible. But the Un-American Activities Committee is not an "ordinary" Committee nor are its purposes "ordinary" legislative purposes. It is nothing but organized witch-hunting. If it can't be abolished by rational argument, then let it be abolished by laughter and shouting. Vaudeville is dead.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

F. D. R. JR.—THE LAST RACE

In the democratic politics of the past hundred years or so, the sons of great men have rarely enjoyed successful political careers. John Van Buren, Robert Todd Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., Randolph Churchill, and others in American and British public life bear out this melancholy truism.

Aside from the psychological burdens that a man might experience having to measure his achievements against those of a towering father, these sons suffer most from the shifting tastes of the generations. Their father's contemporaries cannot easily transfer their allegiance and emotional identification to a new leader whom they knew first as a child. The son's own contemporaries may reject him because they see him as a continuation of his father and his father's generation, and each new generation wants its own heroes and leaders. And it wants to discover them itself, not have them handed down as a legacy from the past.

If these psychological speculations are sound, the best advice one could give the son of a famous political leader is—wait. Wait for fifteen or twenty years after the great man has passed from the scene and then launch your career on your own, helped, if at all, by the tide of nostalgia for your father that may roll in that long after his death. But, in life, the practice seems to be just the reverse. The intense heat of the father's fame acts, so to speak, as a hothouse in which the son's career is artificially nurtured and prematurely forced. His name alone confers instant recognition, which is an asset most politicians spend half their careers trying to develop. But the cost of this easy, unearned fame is less visible and can be high.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., playing a pivotal but not personally profitable role in the current New York campaign, vividly exemplifies these circumstances. If he were now just moving to the forefront of big-time politics, he would seem a fresh, exciting figure with many pleasant but not overpowering overtones of his father. There is considerable physical resemblance; he has the same large head, strong jaw, massive shoulders, and winning smile that those of us who grew up in the 1930's and '40's remember from countless newsreels. His voice has somewhat the same Groton-Harvard intonation without sounding as if he were engaged in conscious mimicry. But Roosevelt, although only 52, has a shopworn reputation. The glamour is gone.

After graduating from Harvard College in 1937 and the University of Virginia Law School in 1940, he saw combat duty in the Navy in World War II and then plunged immediately into active politics in New York. He had his choice of two Brooklyn congressional districts in which to run in 1948, but his first marriage was then coming unraveled. He postponed his candidacy until he was divorced. (He subsequently made a second, happy marriage.) In the spring of 1949, Roosevelt entered Congress by winning a special election in a Manhattan district. Since the local Democratic organization would not give him the party's nomination, he ran as an independent and with the backing of the Liberal Party. Once elected, however, he disappointed some large "L" Liberals by sitting as a Democrat, rather than a representative of their

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party. He disappointed other people by leaving after his election on what in New York politics is known as the "Three-I Tour"—Ireland, Italy, and Israel. Since a freshman congressman has a minimal impact on U.S. relations with those countries, his trip demonstrated as nothing else could that he was impatient for higher office and grander perspectives.

In 1950, Roosevelt made his first bid for the New York governorship which now sixteen years later he is still vainly seeking. Older, wiser men tried to warn him off, pointing out that with barely a year of service in the House, he did not have the experience and stature to qualify for the governorship. But he plunged ahead and encountered the rejection he could have foreseen. In making his futile bid, he incurred obligations that later plagued him. One was to Joseph Sharkey, a Brooklyn Democratic leader who supported him in that convention. The following year, Sharkey was the Democratic candidate for the empty office of President of the City Council in a special election. The Liberal candidate was the late Rudolph Halley, counsel to the Kefauver crime investigation. Roosevelt reciprocated Sharkey's support by campaigning for him rather than Halley, thus incensing the Liberals and impairing his own reputation as a dashing young crusader.

The turning point for Roosevelt came in 1954 when he made his most serious drive for the nomination. He drew good crowds in his appearances around the state and lined up considerable delegate support. But the party leaders at the convention, acting on the basis of public opinion polls that showed the election would be close and that Roosevelt would probably fall short, turned instead to Averell Harriman. As a consolation prize, Roosevelt received the nomination for Attorney General, only to be defeated for that lesser office by Jacob K. Javits. "I managed to miss the night boat for Albany twice in one year," Roosevelt ruefully remarked.

For the next six years, he was in political eclipse. He practiced law in a desultory fashion but like his father before him, law was never his first interest. It served only to do him further political harm. For six months, he had a retainer from the Trujillo regime in the Dominican Republic. (Trujillo had scores of American lawyers and public relations men on his payroll.) The bad odor of this brief association has clung to Roosevelt ever since. In 1960, he returned to active politics on behalf of John F. Kennedy in the primary in West Virginia, where his family name still carries great political weight. Roosevelt attacked Hubert Humphrey for his lack of a war record. This *ad hominem* attack was a measure of Roosevelt's ruthlessness and impatience to fight and claw his way back into the political big leagues. The Kennedys were cognizant of Roosevelt's attack and felt themselves permanently in his debt for his useful hatchetman role.

Personal friendship also drew the Roosevelts and the Kennedys together. President Kennedy's service in the House of Representatives overlapped Roosevelt's for three years; the relationship then was congenial though not intimate. It grew stronger in subsequent years as Jacqueline Kennedy and Suzanne Roosevelt became close friends. President Kennedy first offered Roosevelt the ambassadorship to Italy, but when the latter chose to stay closer to the domestic scene, the post of Undersecretary of Commerce was agreed upon. It is not certain, but there are reasons to believe that if President Kennedy had lived, he would have moved Roosevelt into the cabinet as Secretary of Commerce in his second term. From that job, he would have been well-positioned to run for governor this year, perhaps even as the unofficial "administration candidate."

Those prospects disappeared with Kennedy's death. Last year, Roosevelt left Commerce to head up the new five-member commission on equal employment opportunities established by the 1964 Civil Rights Act. It was from this job he resigned earlier this year to return to New York politics.

Roosevelt quickly discovered that the governorship contest was a closed affair. It usually is in New York which is the only state, other than Indiana, that does not have a primary. Since the number of convention delegates is apportioned by population, the leaders of the three or four largest counties in New York City can largely determine the outcome. Frank D. O'Connor, the personable Irish Catholic President of the New York City Council, had the backing of his home county of Queens. But when Roosevelt sought the support of the leaders in Brooklyn and the Bronx, it developed that they also were committed to O'Connor. According to Roosevelt, they had promised O'Connor their support in July, 1965 in exchange for his agreement to withdraw from the race for Mayor and run for Council President on a ticket they arranged. (Mayor John V. Lindsay overwhelmed this ticket, but O'Connor on his personal strength pulled through.) This advance arrangement is more objectionable than the usual political deal, partly because the Brooklyn and Bronx leaders have long been the targets of local reformers as symbols of old-fashioned clubhouse politics and partly because of the presence of a racetrack owner at the meeting at which the deal was supposedly struck.

The "boss issue" failed to stir the rank-and-file Democrats or the convention delegates; O'Connor's nomination at the convention on September 7-8 is now a foregone conclusion. But Roosevelt's use of this issue has served to endear him to the Liberals and to repair their long-fractured relations. So there is now the possibility that the Liberals may run Roosevelt as a third party protest candidate against O'Connor and Governor Rockefeller. It would be a curious climax to the career of a man who expected to be President and who tried to find orthodox, professional allies to help him on his way.

WILLIAM V. SHANNON

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TROUBLE WITH CAMBODIA

The U.S.'s missed opportunities

OSCAR G. CHASE

Until recently Cambodia has been the eye of the Southeast Asian hurricane. But the opening months of 1966 found her violently engaged with her Thai and Vietnamese neighbors and, increasingly, with the United States itself. The pressing reality of the change that has taken place was brought home in April with the American shelling of Cambodian territory.

This unhappy incident was only one of a long series of such mishaps growing out of the military activity in the jungle along the Cambodian-South Vietnamese border. Pnomh-Penh tempers were so exacerbated last year that the American Embassy and the U.S.I.S. headquarters were vandalized. (During visits in May 1965 and March 1966 I viewed, prominently on display in a Pnomh-Penh park, a damaged U.S. plane and a U.S.-type armored personnel carrier, both allegedly destroyed while violating Cambodian borders.) American-Khmer relations were terminated by Prince Sihanouk after a 1965 bombing attack on a Cambodian border village. An offer to maintain consular relations was spurned by the U.S.

Meanwhile, the situation on Cambodia's border with Thailand is deteriorating rapidly. Concentrated on a narrow stretch of land along the Gulf of Siam, the once sporadic clashes of fire between the two countries have become almost daily occurrences. The elements in this dispute are difficult to sort out, but its dangerous international implications were underscored by recent Radio Peking promises to support Cambodia in the event of invasion by "U.S. imperialists and their Thai lackeys." And SEATO, in the words of its Secretary General, Jesus Vargas, "is watching the situation on the Thai-Cambodian border with deep interest." By the fact of its presence in Southeast Asia, American interests are necessarily involved with Cambodia's problems. These interests can be summed up in three related goals: prevention of an expansion of the Vietnam war; maintenance of true Cambodian neutrality and independence, and elimination or reduction of Vietcong operations in that country. (For the sake of analysis I accept American statements on this matter insofar as they have claimed occasional use of Cambodian territory by the Vietcong.)

OSCAR G. CHASE, *a graduate of the Yale Law School, made extensive trips to Cambodia in 1965 and 1966.*

A Millennium of Struggle

To a surprising degree, Cambodia's problems with her neighbors are a continuation of a millennium of similar struggles. This history is fascinating, but the highlights seem to center around the Khmer empire that from the 12th to 14th century held sovereignty over most of the Southeast Asian subcontinent. This domination was in part due to the central geographical position of its capital city of Angkor. When the empire floundered in the 15th century, the central location changed from a position of strength to one of extreme vulnerability, with Cambodia's neighbors all chewing on the fringes. A defensive posture is still with Cambodians up to the present day. Only with French protection in the 19th century was Cambodia able to prevent its annihilation as a nation by adjoining countries. During World War II the Thais reannexed three Cambodian provinces which they only reluctantly gave up at the war's end under French pressure. And Cambodia still hotly disputes the ownership of some off-shore islands with South Vietnam.

But if these enmities have played a sizable part in the development of Cambodia's position in the cold war, it

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remains true, as Prince Sihanouk repeatedly states, that the first problem facing his nation is the preservation of its independence. In the Cambodian mind it is not, as so commonly assumed, the Chinese who most threaten that precious independence, but the Thais and the Vietnamese (North and South). Americans ignorant of this are prone to see Cambodian-Chinese friendship as the product of fear, or perhaps sympathy for Communism, and they could not be more wrong. This is not to maintain that Cambodia is unaware of Chinese expansionism (Sihanouk has referred to it on several occasions), but rather that China is not seen as the *prime* danger.

Yet, in the first months of independence following the departure of the French, Prince Sihanouk did not turn to China for protection against its neighbors. At this time pro-Hanoi Viet Minh troops which had entered Cambodia during the anti-French war posed the most active threat. When Sihanouk opposed their demands for status in the government, he came under severe attack from the Communist press. Subsequently the troops withdrew into North Vietnam, as agreed upon in the Geneva Accord.

In 1955 Cambodia accepted American aid, including military hardware and a military advisory group. It seemed that the U.S. would become Cambodia's protector. But the Prince, who refused to join SEATO, continued to proclaim Cambodian neutrality. He could not have been unaware of the danger of an American alliance, for Cambodia's dense jungle border adjacent to Communist-occupied areas of Laos and Vietnam would be impossible to defend against the intensive subversive effort that such an alliance might invite. Other factors militating against very close American ties were U.S. alliances with the Thais and South Vietnamese, which would neutralize U.S. aid in the case of threats coming from these countries, and Prince Sihanouk's own frequent self-identification as an Asian with a colonial background. The American reaction to this quite justifiable coolness was not particularly graceful.

The principal Cambodian complaints over its U.S. relations have centered on American attempts to undermine its independence of action. It is alleged that U.S. aid was granted more to gain a lever in the country than out of real concern for needs. Even direct subversive intervention has been charged. It is widely believed in Cambodia that the U.S.—via the CIA, of course—was a party to a 1959 plot involving dissident rivals of Sihanouk. American, Thai and Vietnamese complicity was strongly suspected in subsequent maneuvers by the Free Khmer underground. As recently as August 1965, Prince Sihanouk wrote that the CIA was conducting a campaign to subvert him by supporting Cambodian rebels. Finally, it is claimed that the frequent Thai and Vietnamese border provocations are actively supported by the U.S. in an effort to intimidate Cambodia. By 1963 relations had strained to the point where American aid was suspended.

While the U.S. was suffering setbacks, the Chinese were scoring diplomatic points. The first of these was at the Bandung Conference where Chou En Lai's general cordiality and firm disavowal of expansionist aims had a significant effect on many small neutral powers, including Cambodia. At this time the "with us or against us" line prevailed in Washington. Prince Sihanouk's visit to China in 1955 was another success for Sino-Cambodian relations. Not only was Sihanouk accorded a warm reception, but he was offered economic aid and, most striking, a promise of assistance in dealing with the Viet Minh if the need might arise. This basically cordial relationship has continued to the present.

Contrary to allegations from Bangkok and Saigon, the part played by Communist ideology in Cambodia's actions has been at best indirect. The small Communist party in Cambodia, which Sihanouk has publicly denounced, together with other strongly anti-Western elements have on occasion probably swayed him further to the left than he might otherwise have gone. But Sihanouk could hardly be described as a Communist. The most that can be said of him is that he has adapted the cold war to his country's ends, most frequently by couching his verbal attacks in the militant language calculated to appeal to the neutralist and socialist blocs. The effect of this on his Western-oriented neighbors has been to alarm them as another potential source of subversion and to give them an excuse for continuing old wars under the new and legitimized banner of anti-Communism.

The personality of Norodom Sihanouk must be a factor in any discussion of Cambodian politics. When he resigned as king in order to enter active politics, he enjoyed the devotion of the majority of his people in the tradition of god-kings. His successful efforts to obtain Cambodian independence bolstered his prestige even further, and the trust and respect he is accorded today by all but some elements on the left and right is the basis of his currently immense but generally non-repressive power in the country.

No doubt Sihanouk's personal involvement in foreign affairs has brought more grief to the West than to the Communist bloc. His Asian identification, memories of white man's rule, and invariably flattering treatment in the Communist press all have their effect. Yet Sihanouk cannot be written off as anti-Western. In 1965, in an article called "My Anti-Americanism," he wrote: "We have never been 'pro' or 'with' the West and we are not 'with the Communists.' *We are and always will be 'pro' and 'with' Cambodia, and Cambodia exclusively.* We cannot be held responsible for heaven's decision to change *Cambodia's adversaries and enemies* between 1954 and 1965!" (Emphasis his)

He added: "Should the U.S.A. show as much intelligence, we would be as friendly and grateful towards them as we are to China and the Soviet Union." That this is more than mere rhetoric is indicated by Sihanouk's efforts to maintain his freedom of action, as in his attempt to

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maintain at least consular relations with the U.S. And it is otherwise inexplicable that only months ago he refused a Chinese military aid mission. Cambodia is capable of radical foreign policy changes, as can be seen in the French experience. Extremely unpopular in Cambodia at the time of independence, the French government has, through its subsequent judicious poilcies, almost reversed the situation, and last year a new Pnomh-Penh avenue was named for General de Gaulle.

Nationalism, personalized leadership, cold war tides, and especially, centuries of regional hostility, have all played their part in forming Cambodia's policy positions. An understanding of these factors would be the logical foundation on which to build a policy that will serve American goals.

The construction of this policy is complicated by the apparently conflicting nature of the goals. For example, to bomb suspected Vietcong concentrations in Cambodia would probably discourage its use as a sanctuary. At the same time it would convince Sihanouk of the necessity of Chinese protection and assistance, inflame his anti-Westernism and drive him further to the left, perhaps irrevocably, and carry the risk of further escalation. Other variations of the "stick" approach (e.g., private encouragement of ostentatious support of a Thai hard line position on the border dispute; vigorous application of the hot pursuit policy on the Vietnamese border; recognition and assistance of a Free Khmer movement) have the same defects without the attendant advantage. It seems that any pressure we put on Cambodia, whether unilaterally or through our allies, is not going to force Sihanouk to "come around." It will only convince him of the propriety of his anti-Americanism and of the need to intensify it.

Border Inspection

Only an enlightened diplomatic effort will achieve two of our goals—the avoidance of wider war and the maintenance of Cambodian neutrality. The argument that diplomacy alone cannot deal with the third goal, elimination of the Cambodian N.L.F. sanctuary, is mistaken. The optimum solution to that problem, frequent inspections of the border area by a neutral international commission, is attainable by relatively normal diplomatic techniques, that is, bilateral meetings between the disputants and/or a convening of an international conference on Cambodian neutrality.

Cambodia and the United States are already in general agreement on the soundness of the inspection approach to the border problem. For its part the United State's ambassador to the U.N. suggested to that body in January that this solution be adopted. Prince Sihanouk, on the other hand, has already agreed in principle to border inspections by the International Control Commission set up at the 1954 Geneva Conference and still responsible for overseeing the Cambodian neutrality agreed upon at the Conference. Apparently all that is necessary to effect the desired inspections is agreement in fine. The initiative for this lies with the U.S. as the party most concerned about the sanctuary issue. Therefore if the attempt being made in the United Nations is not successful, bilateral talks might be initiated.

An international commission should also be considered as a means of easing the tension on the Thai border, but the likelihood of its implementation there is certainly remote at this time. The Thais have so far refused to formally recognize the permanency of the present boundary. This underlies all other Cambodian-Thai problems, and it may be that no improvement in relations will be reached until this issue is resolved. Certainly the United States cannot properly dictate the solution to a Thai-Cambodian boundary dispute. But we can and should counsel patience and restraint to our Thai friends in an effort to stop at least the shooting. Perhaps if a third nation enjoying the respect of the disputants, say Japan, were to invite Cambodia and Thailand to a conference à la Tashkent on neutral ground meaningful discussions might result. The convening of the long-sought conference on Cambodia neutrality is perhaps the key to solving many of the problems surrounding Cambodia.

This conference was much discussed again last spring not only as a means of dealing with Cambodia's problems but as a pretext for assembling the major Vietnam antagonists when no other means of so doing seemed available. It was this aspect of the projected conference that was the ostensible cause of its undoing. Prince Sihanouk denounced as an affront the notion that a conference on his country could be anything more than just that. He announced in April that he would not attend such a conference unless there was advance agreement that Cambodia would be the sole issue. Another major precondition he established was that no "representatives of the so-called Saigon Government" would be permitted to attend the conference. Since then he has modified his position to the point where he has agreed to accept any South Vietnamese delegation acceptable to the great powers.

Little has been heard on the conference since early 1965, but a renewed attempt to convene it might now be successful. The issues involving Cambodia *qua* Cambodia are now pressing enough to make such a conference desirable even if no peripheral issues are discussed. On the question of South Vietnamese representation a compromise involving two delegations may be necessary.

Arguably, the current American position makes such a compromise unlikely. Yet a successful conference would so far advance the goals of American diplomacy (it could result in the desired international inspections of the Cambodia-Vietnam border) that it would be well worth whatever ignominy is involved at sitting down at the same table with the N.L.F.

Possibly even the most intensive American diplomatic

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efforts will achieve no immediate improvement in relations. Nonetheless, our Southeast Asian diplomacy must take the Cambodian viewpoint into careful consideration; it must be a policy of restraint and understanding. The bolstering of Thai and Vietnamese strength provided by our presence must not turn from anti-Communist to anti-Khmer purposes. Our alliances must ultimately aim for the normalization of relations between Cambodia and our allies. The Cambodians must be convinced that our presence is not another aspect of the old struggle against them but is in mitigation of it; that our presence does not require more reliance on the People's Republic of China, but less.

In South Vietnam the hot pursuit doctrine should die the death of disuse. The killing of a dozen or so guerrillas will hardly be worth the effect an American crossing of the border will surely have in Pnomh-Penh. Further, we must put a stop to the "accidental" bombing of Cambodian border settlements by Vietnamese pilots. Let us not suffer the Vietnamese to enjoy the harassment of their old enemies in our airplanes.

Above all, any policy involving the purposeful bombing of Cambodia is unthinkable. According to Senator Mansfield, "There is . . . no evidence whatsoever that any alleged usage of Cambodian soil is with the sanction much less the assistance of the Cambodian government." Moreover, New York *Times* reporter Seymour Topping found during a Cambodian visit last autumn that roads and trails alleged by American and South Vietnamese military spokesmen to be major Vietcong arteries had in fact not been used by anyone in years and were in places absolutely impassable. Under such circumstances the concerted bombing of that country would be an execrable undertaking.

Apart from moral consideration the bombing of Cambodia is not in our interest even as it is normally understood by "realists." Obliterating a few more jungle camps or trails, this time in Cambodia, will have only a negligible effect on the war. But it would set the Cambodians against us indeterminately—and this regardless of the outcome of the war. To put it in their terms, the domino would be lost.

Post-Johannine Problems

IRELAND'S HOT SUMMER

DESMOND FISHER

It has been a long, hot and nasty summer in Northern Ireland: three major outbreaks of sectarian rioting, three politico-religious murders, a brick and a bottle thrown at Queen Elizabeth, and a host of minor incidents. To cap it all, the chief architect of the bitterness which led to these troubles, the Reverend Ian Paisley, chose to go to jail instead of pay a fine for unlawful assembly and has become the martyr-hero of his movement.

Paisley, the 40-year-old self-appointed Moderator of his breakaway "Free Presbyterian Church of Ulster," is the man who protested in Rome during Archbishop Ramsey's visit to the Pope and outside Westminster Abbey while a Jesuit was speaking there. He is an extreme Protestant fundamentalist. For him and his followers, Rome is the Scarlet Woman, the Pope is the anti-Christ, ecumenism is a mammoth Romish plot to undermine Protestantism and his own Prime Minister a traitor.

Several factors have contributed to Paisley's rise to notoriety. Captain Terence O'Neill, Prime Minister of Northern Ireland (though it is an integral part of the United Kingdom, it has its own Parliament) is a liberal progressive who is trying to drag his country into the 20th century. He set out to improve relations with the neighboring Republic and initiated the series of meetings with Mr. Lemass, his Dublin counterpart, which earned him the taunt of "treason." He visited Catholic schools. He called on Northern Ireland's 600,000 Catholics to work with the 900,000 Protestants for their mutual benefit. He permitted the Catholics to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the Easter Week Rising. He began to free the Unionist Party, which has held power since the State was established in 1921, from its total dependence on the Orange Order, founded in 1795 to maintain the Protestant ascendancy.

Even before O'Neill came to power in 1963, the ecumenical movement had been making slow headway in Northern Ireland. Priests and ministers got on talking terms. A flag was flown at half-mast on Belfast's City Hall to mark the death of Pope John. The sharp edges of the politico-religious chasm in Northern Ireland, where Catholic is equivalent to Nationalist and Protestant to Unionist, began to soften.

Progress had not, however, gone so far as to end the

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blatant gerrymandering which maintains Protestant control of local councils even in areas where they were in a substantial minority. Nor had it ended the discrimination against Catholics in jobs, housing and preferment. Nor had it changed the basic allegiance of Protestants to the English Crown nor of Catholics to a united Ireland.

Nevertheless what was happening began to strike cold terror into the hearts of some Protestants. They foresaw the end of their privileged position. They had bad dreams about the possibility of an eventual Catholic majority. (Already almost half the primary school-children in Northern Ireland are Catholics and they are in the majority in four of the six counties).

And with the higher Catholic birth-rate, they feared it was only a matter of time before the whole Protestant ascendancy was undermined, Ireland united and Rome triumphant. This has been the nagging Protestant nightmare since the "plantations" of the early 17th century took the land from the Irish Catholics and gave it to Scots Presbyterian settlers.

It is to these basic activistic fears and to the violence they have always bred that Paisley appeals. A brilliant demagogue, he rants against ecumenism and the hands-across-the-border attitude to the Republic. His active support is certainly no more than 5,000. His strength lies in the fact that his cries of alarm rouse echoes in the minds of men conditioned to believe that Rome is the ancient enemy ever trying to win by wile what she cannot take by force.

The Unionist Party and the Orange Order, the twin pillars of the Northern Ireland establishment, have been caught in the cross-fire. O'Neill has been devoting his efforts to progress and sectarian peace: Paisley is championing the very things which Party and Order have preached for years in order to secure themselves in power.

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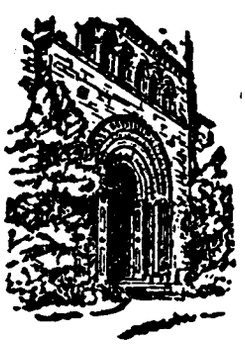

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By declaring against Paisley, they seemed to be renouncing their own past. To oppose him seemed dangerously like proving his case. Outright support for him would tear the party asunder. So far, there has been an uneasy compromise. O'Neill's firm denunciation of Paisley has been supported with varying degrees of enthusiasm: on the other hand, a determined bid has been made to steal his clothes.

Anti-Ecumenical Resolutions

This year's commemoration of the Battle of the Boyne, Northern Ireland's annual Protestant-Orange-Unionist show of power, was marked by the introduction of anti-ecumenical resolutions at the main rallies throughout the country. The main one, enthusiastically endorsed at the gatherings, condemned the "present trend towards one united Church." It deplored "the surrender of our distinctive Protestant witness . . . the compromising implications of the successive visits to the Vatican . . . marked departures within the Churches from the Protestant and Reformed Faith."

What happens now will be decisive in determining the whole future of Northern Ireland. The Protestant Unionists can no longer follow their usual electoral practice of drumming up support by anti-Rome and anti-Dublin scare tactics unless they want to risk playing into Paisley's hands. Nor can they disown him altogether for fear he will go into politics in a big way himself and put up rival Protestant candidates to split the Unionist vote.

The risk to Captain O'Neill is obvious. To avoid being forced to choose between the extremes of a radical like Paisley and a progressive like O'Neill, the Protestants may decide to sacrifice O'Neill on the altar of middle-of-the-road safety. The present Minister of Commerce, Mr. Brian Faulkner, would be an obvious choice. A dynamic go-getter, he is the chief architect of Northern Ireland's growing industrial prosperity. He has been astute enough to disassociate himself from Paisley but at the same time has preached a brand of anti-Catholicism which has more in common with Craigavon than with O'Neill.

Meanwhile, Mr. Wilson, whose Government retains overall responsibility for Northern Ireland, has been wagging an admonishing finger in the background. He summoned Captain O'Neill to London where he administered a gentle rebuke coupled with the hint that if Northern Ireland did not set her own house in order Britain might have to do it for her. If she does, the gerrymandering and the anti-Catholic discrimination which are the bulwarks of the Protestant ascendancy would be summarily ended.

With that dread possibility hanging over them, with Mr. Paisley dragging them back and Captain O'Neill pulling them forward, Northern Ireland's Protestants must be looking nostalgically to the pre-Johannine era before Catholics caught the ecumenical bug.

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OFFBEAT TRIO

THE SCREEN

Sometimes it is hard to tell just whom film-makers had in mind as the audience for their movies. On our screens now are three such pictures—all interesting in a way, and major productions, but designed for whom? Perhaps Ugo Liberatore's original story on which Millard Lampell based his script for "The Idol" reads better than the screenplay; but in any case the movie, directed by Daniel Petrie, can never quite make up its mind whether it's a serious study of young people today and their rebellion against the old folks' standards and mores, or whether it's a soap opera about one of the older folk, a domineering mother who falls for her son's friend and idol—with tragic results.

Because it vacillates back and forth in style, the story, though fascinating, is never completely convincing. One is moved by Tim, the mama-mufflered sensitive young son (superbly played by John Leyton) who idolizes the free-wheeling Marco, an art student escapee from Kansas and parents. And one is moved to some extent by the attractive girl (well portrayed by Jennifer Hilary) who is passionately in love with Marco, much to the regret of Tim who loves her. What is most difficult to understand is why everyone is so taken in by Marco (Michael Parks) who is a self-centered, opinionated boor; he thinks Tim has talent but no courage and finds it disgusting that this nineteen-year-old still goes to church with his mother on Sunday; he treats Tim's girl cruelly; and with self-assurance, he schemes the seduction of Tim's mother, Mom makes it clear to Tim right from the beginning that she doesn't care much for Marco's arrogance and posing.

However, since Mom herself (played in a mannered style by Jennifer Jones) is an arrogant poseur and a rather frustrated prig who never got close to the husband she is divorcing, it is perhaps inevitable that she would be drawn to this young man she is opposing—as was the Reverend Davidson drawn to Sadie Thompson in Somerset Maugham's "Rain."

Pictorially "The Idol" is quite handsome, with its lovely black-and-white photography of London and environs and the good interior sets. Many of the individual scenes are extremely well done: Tim and Marco and the girl on a picnic, Marco's seducing Mom in her elegant house, the New Year's Eve scene on the boat where Marco introduces a game as cruel as any in "Virginia Woolf." But the film as a whole doesn't ring true. And perhaps the fault lies in director Petrie's not keeping Michael Parks under stricter control. Parks seems to be playing the same role in all his films: the confused bad boy whom people can't resist. His next characterization should be different: that of Adam in Dino de Laurentiis' "The Bible."

"Modesty Blaise" is probably the prettiest picture to turn up in many a year, and one of the most senseless. Based on the novel and comic strip by Peter O'Donnell, Evan Jones' script tells a story about the glamorous secret agent who is hired by the British government to protect a shipment of diamonds being sent to an Arab sheik. From that plot spreads two hours of counterplot and wild adventures that are impossible to follow but are often funny and exciting in themselves. The whole thing is not only a spoof on the James Bond movies but also a satire on practically every other kind of movie—including the war epics and sex extravaganzas. And the whole thing is one prolonged camp—in its characterizations, its gadgets and tricks, and its magnificent color photography. Jack Hildyard shot the works in his lovely and luscious pastel scenes, murky shots, in the bright colors in the mayhem to-dos, and in Op Art camerawork. And in keeping with this extravagent color photography are the burlesques of life and times and the many in jokes that you may or may not get. The cast—Monica Vitti, Terence Stamp, Harry Andrews, Michael Craig, Dirk Bogarde, Rossella Falk and Clive Revill—don't seem to be whooping it up quite as much as the decor and jokes. Perhaps director Joseph Losey spent all his energies on the ideas and parodies and was bushed by the time he got to swinging his actors into action. "Modesty Blaise" isn't as funny as its makers think it is, and they forgot to decide for whom they were dishing up all this lush stuff—the camp followers? the intellectuals? the Bond fans? the lowbrows? Bits of "Modesty" should please each group, but the razzle-dazzle whole will suit no one.

Also running into audience trouble is "Fantastic Voyage," a science-fiction thriller about a group of scientists who are miniaturized to tiny size and injected into the bloodstream of a wounded scientist on whose brain they must operate from within. This sounds awful, but the picture turns out to be not bloody at all and often after the four men and one woman get into the body of the patient, you forget entirely where they are. I am no authority on how the insides of a body look, but the insides of this one are beautiful to behold—simply a stunningly colored interior. The plot is not very interesting, and the cast, including Donald Pleasence, Edmond O'Brien, Stephen Boyd, Arthur Kennedy, et al., don't have much to do.

I hope people don't stay away from this picture because of the subject matter. The scenery inside man is really gorgeous, even if you recall from time to time that wisecrack of the 30s about going with gun and camera through the alimentary canal.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG

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BOOKS

Sociology and anti-Semitism

Christian Beliefs and Anti-Semitism

CHARLES Y. GLOCK
& RODNEY STARK
Harper & Row, $8.50

PAUL HANLY FURFEY

This book has already stirred up discussion and it will doubtless continue to do so; for its topic is a most sensitive one, namely, Christian doctrine as a possible cause of anti-Semitism. It is the first report of a five-year study of anti-Semitism in the United States, financed by a $500,000 grant from the Anti-Defamation League, and being carried out at the Survey Research Center of the University of California, Berkeley.

Glock and Stark are ingenious in their selection of techniques and are commendably conservative in interpreting results. However, the methods they have chosen involve certain inherent difficulties and these must be considered briefly, even in a short review like this, if a fair evaluation is to be made.

The study was confined to church members from four California counties. Of course these counties may not be representative of the country as a whole; and there are sincere Christians who are not formally attached to a particular congregation. Then there is the problem of nonresponse. More than a quarter of the Protestants and almost one half of the Catholics who could have answered failed to do so. A special study on the point showed some significant tendencies for the better educated, those in prestige occupations, and more frequent church attenders to be overrepresented among the respondents. Obviously this is a possible source of bias. Glock and Stark believe nevertheless that the sample is "reasonably representative" of the entire population.

The main tool of analysis used by the authors consists of what they call "indexes." An index is obtained by scoring replies to certain questions believed to indicate specific habits or attitudes. For example, there is an Index of Ritual Involvement obtained by scoring replies on frequency of church attendance and frequency of private prayer. The bulk of the book consists of elaborate cross comparisons of various indexes. The results are fascinating and deserve careful study. Here, however, there is space to describe briefly only two of the indexes, the two whose intercomparison bears most closely on the central thesis of the book, namely, the Index of Anti-Semitic Beliefs and the Index of Religious Bigotry.

The anti-Semitism of the respondent is measured by the extent to which he agrees with six statements considered unfavorable to Jews. Here there arises a problem of definition. Probably most would agree that assent to the statement, "Jews are more likely than Christians to cheat in business," betrays bias. On the other hand, it is less clear that the statement, "Jews believe they are better than other people," is necessarily indicative of prejudice. The tendency to over-value one's own ethnic or religious group is rather general. A smug sense of superiority is likely to characterize group members, whether they are Americans, Frenchmen, Catholics, or Seventh Day Adventists. Is it anti-Semitic to suspect that Jews, too, may share this common human weakness? There is some ground for doubt about the validity of the Index of Anti-Semitic Beliefs as a measure of anti-Semitism.

A rather surprising feature of the Index of Religious Bigotry is that it contains two statements dealing directly with Jews: "The Jews can never be forgiven for what they did to Jesus until they accept Him as the True Saviour" and "Among themselves, Jews think Christians are ignorant for believing Christ was the Son of God." The strange point about the inclusion of these items is that they would seem to assure some positive correlation between anti-Semitic beliefs and religious bigotry—and that was the central problem of the research. For a person with a generally anti-Jewish attitude would be likely not only to score high on anti-Semitism, but also to boost his religious-bigotry score by agreeing with the two statements just quoted. The Index of Anti-Semitic Beliefs was actually found to correlate well with the Index of Religious Bigotry; but must not part of the agreement be ascribed to the fact that prejudice against Jews raises the score in each?

To the present reviewer, it seems that Glock and Stark somewhat overstate their case. Their results do not actually prove that there is such a close causal connection between Christian beliefs and anti-Semitism as they believe. Nevertheless their study does show that there is an appalling amount of anti-Semitism among Christian church members. It appears, too, that intensity of prejudice is related to conservatism of belief. Moreover, although anti-Semitism is positively correlated with low occupational status, low income, advanced age, and poor education, the religious factor exists independently of these. For many people, Christian doctrine serves as an excuse for hating the Jews.

How can the relation between Christian beliefs and anti-Semitism be explained? For Glock and Stark there is little doubt. "Historically it is clear that the heart and soul of anti-Semitism rested in Christianity." "There seems clear evidence that historically anti-Semitism stemmed mainly from religiously inspired hatred for the Jews." What they mean is that the New Testament presents the Jews as rejecting the Son of God, crucifying Him, and thus drawing down a curse upon themselves. Christianity is responsible for the rise of anti-Semitism.

This view, which is common enough, is indefensible. It is simply not true that anti-Semitism began with Christianity.

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It was rife in the pre-Christian Graeco-Roman world and in the Graeco-Roman world in which Christianity developed and spread. So sober a writer as Tacitus could call the Jews "a very nasty people" (*taeterrima gens*). They were accused of hating everything non-Jewish. Their bodies gave off an offensive odor. They were atheists, superstitious, or donkey-worshippers. The accusation of ritual murder goes back to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. There were mob assaults of Jews in Alexandria in 88 B.C. and what has been called "the first real pogrom" occurred there in 38 A.D. Graeco-Roman anti-Semitism was deep and violent.

None of this is surprising to a sociologist. The tendency to hate minority groups is an ugly, but common, trait of human nature. Any group which retains distinctive characteristics setting it off from the majority, any group which will not or cannot take over the majority mores and give up its own identity, is bound to be hated, whether it is a question of the Negroes in Watts, the Mexicans in the Southwest, the Puerto Ricans in Chicago, or the Jews in Alexandria. The Jews were particularly vulnerable precisely because they were a very cohesive group and a very visible group with their own characteristic culture.

The early Christians should have risen above the contemporary anti-Semitism. They should have applied their doctrine of love to their treatment of the Jews. It is an infinitely tragic fact that they did not. There was ill feeling from the first between the two groups. Jews reacted violently against the nascent Christianity. St. Stephen was not the only martyr who died at their hands. When the Jews gained temporary civil power during Bar Cocheba's revolt (132-35), they persecuted the Christians. In the meantime, the latter developed a new rationalization for their anti-Semitism. Jewish involvement in the Crucifixion was one more accusation which Christians added to the many they had inherited from the Graeco-Roman world.

To hate all Jews because a Jewish mob was involved in the judicial murder of Christ is about as logical as to hate all Greeks because an Athenian mob was involved in the judicial murder of Socrates. Lynch mobs, alas, are all too common in history; but men of the stature of Socrates are rare indeed. Whoever dares to face the facts objectively, all the facts, will indeed be disgusted at the actions of the mob which howled for the death of Christ and he will accept the fact that this mob was composed of Jews. But he will also accept the infinitely more important fact that Jesus Christ Himself was born of Mary, the Jewess, that St. Paul and all the other apostles were Jews, that they were raised in a Jewish tradition, and that Christianity developed directly out of this tradition.

Glock and Stark's book can do a great deal of good—but only on condition that both Christians and Jews face the issues it raises with courage and objectivity. Christians must admit the unpleasant truth that during many centuries they mercilessly persecuted Jews and that an anti-Jewish attitude remains all too common among them today. Moreover, they must admit that they have misused their theology in an irrational attempt to justify their utterly unjustifiable actions. Christians have an enormous burden of guilt which cannot be denied.

For Jews, there will be the danger of misinterpreting Glock and Stark's book as a proof that Christian beliefs are the root cause of anti-Semitism as it exists today. If this were the case, if indeed hatred of Jews were a built-in feature of Christianity, then anti-Semitism would be bound to flourish as long as Christians are Christians. If such were the case, the situation would be hopeless, and Jews would be justified in refusing dialogue with Christians and sinking into a despairing lethargy.

Actually, the misinterpretation of the New Testament is only one of the many causes of anti-Semitism. Christian-Jewish relations have of course their distinctive features, but for the most part they follow the usual pattern of majority-minority group relations so familiar to the sociologist. Intergroup relations can always be improved by good will, hard work, and honesty on both sides. In spite of the tragic past, Christians and Jews can learn to live together in peace and mutual understanding if both groups are willing to make the effort.

The Party That Lost Its Head

GEORGE F. GILDER &
BRUCE K. CHAPMAN

Knopf, $6.95

WALTER DEAN BURNHAM

The dramatic takeover of the Republican Party by the far right two years ago has made clear to everyone that something has gone very awry with the American party system. Quite naturally, there has been a spate of post-mortems since then, all addressed to the problem of deciphering just what happened in 1964 and why. This book is the latest and one of the most interesting of the lot. Written by two young journalists who were major actors in the Ripon Society-*Advance* magazine wing of intellectual liberal Republicanism, this book is part analysis, part sectarian tract. Its polemics, couched in a style of evangelistic fervor, mixed metaphors and occasional journalistic clichés, are probably primarily of interest to those within the party lodge—though the bitterness encountered here makes an outsider wonder how the GOP will ever be able to make a 1968 nomination which all of its sects can support.

The analysis is extremely interesting in places, but ultimately suffers from a superficiality common to most American political literature: it tends to be content to identify specific villains (individuals or groups), and hence to overlook broader and more impersonal systemic processes which are shaping party destinies. For example, the discussion of our enormous urban problems leaves the impression that they are largely the fault of the Democrats and cities which somehow consume themselves as if they were not made by human hands or inhabited by human beings. Surely there are more fundamental issues here—issues going to the heart of the socio-economic system and the human relationships engendered by it. For all his eccentricities, Paul Goodman discusses these issues with vastly greater cogency

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and perception than the authors of *The Party That Lost Its Head*.

Still, this book is worth reading on at least two counts. In its first half it provides exceptionally interesting "inside" material on the 1964 debacle, while in its second half its authors do make a serious attempt to provide a programmatic justification for the existence of liberal Republicanism as a separate political entity. There can be no question that Democratic welfare-warfare-state liberalism—partly because of the ineffectiveness of Republican opposition—has become sterile and drearily unimaginative. At least some of the urban mess, after all, is the Democrats' fault. Federalism could be put to far more balanced and constructive uses, and even if it be true that much of the blame rests with reactionary obstructionism in the state legislature, it cannot be said that Washingon has really been terribly concerned about the problem. The Far Right is just as neolithic as the authors say it is, and their observations—interspersed among the polemics—make useful reading.

How was it possible for 1964 to occur at all? At the outset it should be remarked that the title of this book lays a false scent across the trail. How could a party lose a head when it has not had one in the memory of the past generation? If by "head" we mean the existence of a top party leadership which has both mind and *esprit*, the GOP has had only three in this century: Theodore Roosevelt, Herbert Hoover and Wendell Willkie. If we expand the definition to include anything with a definable programmatic content, Barry Goldwater's 1964 campaign would surely have to be added. Of T. R. it can justly be said that his most enduring long-term contribution to the Party was to insure Old Guard control of its machinery for years by bolting in 1912, and he hardly sat well with the high command even during his presidency. Hoover developed to its apogee the old-style ideology of corporation capitalism at precisely the wrong political time—1929. Willkie was a political sport, an ex-Democrat who was brutally repudiated by the high command after polling more votes, in defeat, than any other Republican down to 1952. Add them all together, and it appears that the GOP has had a "head" for at most a dozen of the past 65 years.

In modern times—and especially since the advent of the New Deal—the Republican party has developed a notorious aversion to dynamic executive leadership and the life of the mind in politics. One of the best jokes of the 1964 campaign was that Barry Goldwater was running not for but against the Presidency. But in this, at least, he differed less from the "mainstream" of his own party than is often supposed. When one looks elsewhere at Republican candidates—Dewey and Nixon in particular—one finds failures of nerve, will and intellect which fatally damaged their chances of election. On the whole, the record of the GOP in this century has been one of persistent Whiggery on the national level—a Whiggery which is of course directly and functionally related to the major interests it seeks to protect, a Whiggery which has caused more than one observer to comment that it acts more like a pressure group than a party. If Goldwater was running against the Presidency, it is still more accurate to say that the Republican party has made a career of running against the party system itself. Granted their democratic value preferences, it is not out of perversity that most intellectuals have turned their backs on the GOP.

Which brings us to the strange case of President Eisenhower. There are no peculiarities in the man: he is the perfect exemplar of the apolitical military hero, a William Henry Harrison who lasted eight years in office instead of one month. What is strange is the extent to which a mystique has been developed around him by liberal Republicans. It is no less wrong to think of Eisenhower as a "leader" of this wing of the party—much less that he had anything to do with its ideology, as the authors seem to think—than it was politically wrong for grown men in 1964 to try to stop Barry's legions by a thunderbolt from Gettysburg. The Eisenhower administration represented in fullest form the contemporary Republican instinct of non-leadership and a mass politics of pure personality. It certainly beats repealing universal suffrage—though the majority of the congressional party has lately been giving this a try through the Dirksen amendment fight—but it suffers from a drawback. The ability to get away with non-leadership is not easily transferred from the military hero to his successors, as Nixon found out in 1960.

The authors of *The Party That Lost Its Head* seem to have swallowed heavy doses of the Eisenhower elixir. This gives us a clue to the nature of liberal Republicanism. This wing of the GOP is a descendant of the Mugwumps, the "gentle reformers" of the 1880s and 1890s. Like the modern-day GOP liberals, these reformers were disproportionately concentrated in the East; they were solid members of the White Anglo-Saxon Protestant middle classes; they were heavily weighted with intellectuals and professional people; they were profoundly hostile to the political party as a social institution. Vaguely benevolent toward the urban proletariat and deprived ethnic minorities, they advocated and sometimes carried out reforms so long as none of the basic institutions of society was even remotely threatened in the process. They eschewed rigorous thinking about the causes and consequences of the great upheavals through which the nation moved in the 1890s; theirs was a conventional wisdom. The Mugwumps' nearest approach to heaven on earth was Grover Cleveland in the White House. They were ultimately destroyed as a political force, ground between the millstones of McKinley's Republicanism and the Democracy of William Jennings Bryan, but ultimately destroyed because their mild reformism had become irrelevant to politics in an age of mature corporate capitalism.

It remains at best unclear whether our latter-day Cleveland Democrats will escape a similar fate. The realignment of the parties, underway for a generation, shows no signs of abating in the long run. As it continues, and problems which Americans have ducked for decades finally have to be resolved, liberal Republicans will increasingly be called on

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to justify their separate existence in American politics. This the authors have tried to do. The extent to which they have fallen short of their goal reveals the magnitude of the task ahead. So does the present condition of the Republican party.

Radicalism in America

SIDNEY LENS

Crowell, $8.95

MAURICE R. BERUBE

American radicalism has never offered a genuine political alternative. Only twice has radicalism generated sufficient momentum towards political relevance: the Socialist thrust in the 1910's and the Communist attempt to direct the current in the thirties and forties. The American brand of dissent has been more a matter of conscience than a matter of realpolitik.

"It was not because the Left was inept," Sidney Lens argues in his new book, "—though it made its share of mistakes—but because American society had a much greater resiliency to it than its European counterparts."

Radical visions of a saving remnant transforming society at the very roots emerged stillborn as the causes around which the radical banner was flown were quickly absorbed by the American society. The New Deal appropriated much of the Socialist party platform of 1932; more recently, Michael Harrington's polemic on poverty in America did not provide a rallying point for a mass movement, but the stuff of a highly touted federal program. Ironically, for the radical in America nothing fails like success.

In *Radicalism in America*, Sidney Lens performs a long neglected task: to render the radical tradition whole within the confines of a single volume. As the first comprehensive account of the American radical's story, it aims at carving out a large role for radicalism in America.

Unfortunately, Lens has a tendency to be swept away by the enthusiasms of which he writes: "But the radical's dream has sustained mankind since time immemorial giving it hope and vision, purpose and meaning. It is the dream which made nations great when they shared it, stagnant when they forgot it, and decadent when they lost it." One seriously questions whether the radical possessed exclusive copyright to visions of the good society.

And can any political tradition whose adherents constituted more sect than movement (the Socialists mustered the

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REVIEWERS

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AN APPEAL: A missionary badly needs a Volkswagen to serve his enormous parish in Tanzania. For this he needs $600; readers may send their donations directly to: Rev. Hermenegild Muba, Catholic Parish Iragua, P.O. Mahenge, Tanzania, East Africa (Airmail: 25¢).

The Lord of the Absurd

"It is not 'pie in the sky' that I need, not another myth of the eternal return . . . not the God of organization, of chancery decrees, of manuals and rules, not some kind of great scoutmaster. I need a Lord of my history, a Lord of my todays and my tomorrows."—Raymond Nogar

The Lord of the Absurd is a unique spiritual journal documenting a man's search for the core of Christian chaos, for the Lord of the incongruous, the unpredictable, the living. Father Nogar's personal odyssey is a journey of encounter and transformation. From Harvard to Berkeley, from Notre Dame to Stanford, from Ann Arbor to Chapel Hill, his religious and philosophical perspective is shaped in dialogue with the tirelessly questing world of the university.

"Can we discover any meaning, any significant direction of this evolution in time and space?" he asks; and adds: "To a mother whose tiny child has just died of cancer, the suggestion that, in spite of it all, the celestial spheres still sing in cosmic harmonies, has the consolation of a mouthful of ashes."

The Lord of the Absurd ($3.95) by Raymond Nogar is written with candor and with an intensely personal understanding of the demanding emblem of Christianity: "The Folly of the Cross." This unique metaphysical diary is now available at your bookseller.

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largest group in their ranks in the 1910's —approximately 120,000—a paltry figure compared to European parties) function as anything more than counterpoint to the political mainstream?

Still, Sidney Lens has produced a knowledgeable and serviceable book. It's breadth alone gives it value. One readily perceives the common bond, the Link —Lens calls it the antidote to privilege —that created a resonant heritage in such diverse figures as Sam Adams, Robert Owen, John Brown, Big Bill Haywood, Eugene Debs and Norman Thomas—to mention but a few treated here.

Lens sharply divides his chronicle into two distinct periods. The first, spanning colonial times to the Civil War, was characterized by the search for an egalitarian ideal in political and social life. Its political symbol was the Boston Tea Party and the American Revolution; its social symbol Harper's Ferry and the irrepressible conflict of Civil War.

Modern radicalism, the second phase, begins with nascent capitalism and Karl Marx. The pendulum swung from inchoate protest to ideology. Capitalism spawned Marx, its antithesis, and to the radical's faith was grafted a theology of history with the economic as main determinant. What was originally conceived as morally right was now historically inevitable.

Perhaps the best section of the book deals with the pursuit of a radical-labor alliance upon which the very lifeblood of Marxist radicalism depended. It was to be an "unconsummated marriage": while the DeLeonites and the Wobblies rebuffed the AFL out of an inverted sense of purism, the Socialists in turn were rejected by the AFL as economically "unsound," socially "wrong," and industrially an "impossibility." Not until the Communists staked a claim in the CIO unions in the late 1930's—controlling fifteen of forty unions with one-fifth of the membership—did radicalism again make inroads into organized labor.

One wishes that Lens had sufficiently marked the poles of radical development. A delineation of these strains would have focused the subsequent discussion on the New Left. For essentially what evolved in America was a radical tradition of direct action moored in humanism—with evangelical overtones —on the one hand, and on the other, a programmatic approach stemming from the fount of ideology. Rather than being a bastardized offspring, the New Left has, as venerable forebears, the Abolitionists and the Wobblies who stressed act over idea.

What is new on the New Left is its broadened concern with the very quality of American life rather than merely economic justice. The New Radical has unfurled his banners primarily against the encroaching alienation that is the by-product of the new technological welfare state; his battle cry has become "participatory democracy." And the locus of this radicalism has also shifted: from a proletariat with its professional revolutionaries to a youth class with its academic spokesman.

Has radicalism in America played itself out? It is a question that plagues the author. History has consigned radicalism to a role removed from the halls of power, yet the insurgent impulse persists. The appeal of radicalism—in Norman Mailer's phrase, "to elevate suffering onto a higher plane"—may well be timeless.

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 549)

ing to reason begins with the idea that sexual acts are an expression, a gesture of love. It then asks, is the expression more than the thing expressed? It answers no, emphatically. It concludes that the love that is being expressed is higher than the sexual act which expresses it; it is in fact love which gives the expression meaning. Perhaps Mr. Sullivan ignores this context because it hints that sex may not be the only natural expression of love. Celibacy may be another. (I am inclined to believe that if celibacy were not normal, at least for some men, Christ would not have misled us by his example.)

Finally, and most significantly, the author contradicts himself. He advances Fairbairn's excellent distinction between mature and immature attitudes toward sex—genital attitude libidinal vs. libidinal attitude genital—only to conclude his article by confounding "lust" and "love": "Then we will call our 'lust' the love it is." (Is not lust an immature sexual attitude and love mature?) To leap over such an obvious semantic precipice after he has so well charted it betrays a carelessness most unseemly in a scholar.

VINCENT RYAN RUGGIERO
Head, English Department
Delhi College

Teilhard and Love

Seattle, Wash.

To the Editors: Dan Sullivan's "Sex and the Person" reminded me of several things I have read in *The Wanderer* recently. Mr. Sullivan's misuse or abuse of Teilhard's thought is equally disturbing. . . .

For example, Mr. Sullivan writes: ". . . Teilhard could see that the deepest and truest *self*, not some peripheral component of it, is discovered, disclosed and fulfilled at the moment of psychospiritualsomatic orgasm, when one can literally 'come' into one's self as well as into both the beloved and the 'beyond.'" I understand Mr. Sullivan to mean that at this moment alone, of bodily union, is truest selfhood found; such that without it, apart from it, only some sort of truncated human existence can be arrived at; and that this is what Teilhard teaches.

I disagree with both allegations, but will deal only with the second; i.e., that Teilhard teaches that only in bodily union with all of its nuances is the complete human found. That Teilhard did not believe this is brought out quite clearly in a number of his writings. One most convincing instance of what he does think is found in a sermon he delivered at the wedding of Odette Bacot and Jean Teilhard d'Eyry. After having admonished the couple to found their marriage upon and to cherish their bodily expression of love, without fear or hesitation, he then proceeds to tell them: ". . . Believe, finally, in—and this word contains all the others—the spirit which you share. You have given your-

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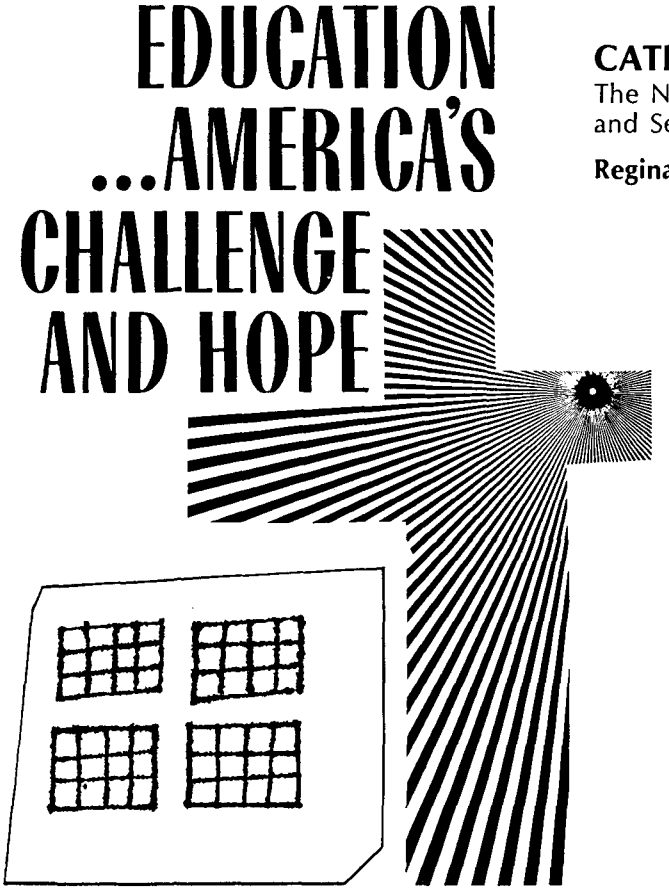
selves to each other to provide infinite scope for understanding, for personal enrichment, and for the growth of sensitivity. *It is, therefore, in an interpenetration and constant exchange of thoughts, affections, dreams, and prayer that you will discover each other above all* (italics mine). Only there, as you know, in the spirit beyond the flesh, lie no satiety, no disappointments, no limits. Only there for your love, lies the free air, the royal road" (*Pour Odette et pour Jean*).

Mr. Sullivan continues: "It is only sexual union (Teilhard) says, 'that is capable of uniting living beings in such a way as *to complete and fulfill them,* for *it alone takes them and joins them by what is deepest in themselves*" (italics Mr. Sullivan's). Evidently here Mr. Sullivan intends "sexual union" to mean "love expressed by bodily union." To begin with, Teilhard didn't say "sexual union"; he used the word love, *l'amour.* Mr. Sullivan gets this quotation from p. 295 of *Le Phenomene humaine* or p. 265 of *The Phenomenon of Man* (Harper Torchbook). If you will turn to either one of these places you will quickly see that Teilhard does not say, "only sexual union," but "love alone" (*seul l'amour*).

It is perfectly obvious from the context surrounding Mr. Sullivan's quotation that Teilhard uses the word "love" here in a very broad, general sense so that it includes all forms of human unification. Back up to the previous page where Teilhard defines explicitly the general sense of the word "love" as he is using it: ". . . considered in its full biological reality, *love—that is to say,* the *affinity of being with being* . . ." (italics mine). Go forward to the sentence immediately following the one quoted by Mr. Sullivan and you will read: "This is a fact of daily experience. At what moment do lovers come in to the most complete possession of themselves if not when they say they are lost in each other? *In truth, does not love every instant achieve all around us in the couple or the team the magic feat . . . of 'personalizing by totalizing?'*" (italics mine). In the couple (through sexual union), yes! In the team (through psychospiritualsomatic orgasm), hardly!! Through sexual union, yes. Through sexual union *alone,* no! And Teilhard didn't say it. Mr. Sullivan seems to have narrowed Teilhard's more expansive thought to fit the limitations of his own.

Finally, let us turn to Mr. Sullivan's explanation of Teilhard's positive insights regarding matters sexual: "(Teilhard's intuition here, as a celibate, must be explained in the way one explains the imprisoned man's acute awareness of the meaning of freedom. Teilhard never resolved theoretically or personally, the dilemma this insight posed for him)."

Surely, Mr. Sullivan is much too intelligent to really believe that. Teilhard's beautiful insights into the place and value of sexual love in the universe posed no dilemma for his celibate way of life. Surely Mr. Sullivan has read *The Divine Milieu* where Teilhard speaks of consecrated celibacy in religious life as the human race's first efforts at making an advance towards that which it will be-



CATHOLIC SCHOOLS IN ACTION
The Notre Dame Study of Catholic Elementary and Secondary Schools in the United States
Reginald A. Neuwien, editor

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come, authenticated and exampled by the celibate Lord Himself. Surely Mr. Sullivan has read *Le Prêtre* (*The Priest*) in which Teilhard extols the fullness of being his celibate priesthood gives him in union with Christ.

Surely Mr. Sullivan has read in *"Le Coer de la Matière"* (The Heart of the Matter) where Teilhard expresses the great homage verging on adoration he bears toward the women whose warmth and charm had passed into the very bloodstream of his thoughts. I know Mr. Sullivan has read *The Making of a Mind* and experienced the amazing "interpenetration and constant exchange of thoughts, affections, dreams, and prayer" that there was between Teilhard and his dear cousin Marguerite Teilhard-Chambon.

The sexual was important to Teilhard. He understood better than most of us its place and value in the volution of the world. He integrated it better than most of us into his truly human and personal existence. But that he considered fullest selfhood to be in "the moment of psychospiritualsomatic orgasm" and never got over the problem, is perfectly absurd. There was no dilemma in his life, either theoretically or personally regarding matters sexual.

Obviously, the dilemma is Mr. Sullivan's. And from the tenor of his article I don't see that he is about to resolve it either, theoretically or personally. . . .

(REV.) ROBERT E. GRIFFIN, S.J.

Reply

Mantoloking, N.J.

To the Editors: The charge of "orgasm-fixation" is correct, *if* one clearly sees that I make *total self-abandon*, or psychospiritual orgasm an essential corollary of the physical, for *authentic* sexual relation. Readers draw a distinction between higher and lower, spiritual and physical union, which is untrue and misleading from the viewpoint of psychoanalysis. First, physical orgasm is necessary to sexual relation because human sexual love is ontologically oriented toward *consummation*, toward a total union and total self-transcendence. The real lover is a single body-mind élan aiming at a body-mind union. I *am* my body, or as Marcel says, the sufferer *is* his pain, or as Norman Brown puts it, "the head is the penis, the penis is the head." Catholic theologians say it another way: "it is the practice of consecrated celibacy that requires the gift of the whole *person*." How could this be, if sex were not inherently personal, the passion of my very self?

But physical self-loss demands a psychospiritual self-loss. Orgasm bespeaks a "coming" of the whole self into itself. For this abandon-above to happen, the finite, known beloved must be and must remain infinite and unknown. To remain itself, human love must stay dynamic, open-ended, infinite. By the thirst for his (her) own self-creation, the beloved continually gives the lover new being, and restores to all things their lost brillance or latent existence. Sexual love must be a continual "falling," an unconditional, spontaneous psychological and bodily surrender to a specific, unique finite-infinite beloved. Without this, physical orgasm is experienced as an anonymous, compensatory, humiliating and macabre lie, a "dying to self" more final and schizogenic than celibacy.

It is neither blasphemy nor illusion to expect infinity, or everlasting surprise, of the beloved. Christ commands "perfection like the Father's" and love like His own. This requires rigorous, unalienating self-scrutiny, an untiring, methodic, inner-directed self-doubt. This demands in turn an ontological security, or self-knowledge and self-love. But only self-chosen goals, self-determined activity, self-centered quest for value, give the self-awareness that permits self-love and, then, the admission of self-boredom and the quest for more, and more, selfhood. As Paul Ricoeur says, in acknowledging finitude, we glimpse the infinite, "the always more" beyond us. We as individuals do not feel definable, or always enclosed. Yet we often assume *radical* finitude in the beloved. . . .

Mrs. Joyce, Mr. Ruggiero and Father Griffin all speak casually of the satiety, limit and disappointment of fleshly love. But sexual satiety is never subsequent, but always prior, to bodily union. Carnal ennui is merely a *sign* of spiritual deintoxication. The "demon below" is merely a euphemism for the rusted spirit "discreet" spouses discern in the beloved, or suspect in themselves. To seek after "higher" forms of conjugal union means only that the basis for this is not yet in sight, that the beloved is already secretly or unconsciously judged by the lover as unable to evoke or promise self-abandon and self-transcendence. For *the greater the spiritual unity, the greater will be the need to "come" together totally, bodily.*

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This finitude often appears in feminine garb, the result of the endless repetition by popes, theologians, philosophers and poets that woman is some fixed function of God, man or society (as Teilhard's thinking exemplifies). This complaint of Henry Miller's against woman's finitude is more honest and, ultimately, optimistic, than the frozen misogynism of a Malraux, Pius XII, Freud or Lawrence.

I see no reason not to suspect a general, sub-conscious defense mechanism in professional celibates examining the place of sex in man. This bias is as probable as that governing professional soldiers facing the question of unilateral disarmament. Nor do I think that Christ's celibacy was part of the "Way" He showed us, or that He called upon any of us to be celibate "for the kingdom's sake," as that text is in much dispute among even Catholic scholars. And in saying that lust is love, I meant only what we generally try to forget: that in its normal aim, sexual drive is innately personal, seeking union with a unique beloved and flowing from my whole self-being.

Concerning the passage in dispute from *The Phenomenon of Man*, Teilhard seems to me to be speaking of *both* a broader, less personalizing love, and of an intimate, sexual love which *alone gives* the lovers *themselves*. It is not accidental that Teilhard could not bring himself to choose team-membership to illustrate the love that gives "the most complete possession" of one's very self. Or does Father Griffin find members of a team, or of a community, "losing themselves" in each other? Teilhard does, however, generally show a lack of precision, and perhaps nerve, in dealing with the sexual. The solidarity of Matter-Spirit, and the Physical-Moral, frequently founders on the erotic. In attacking traditional Christian sexual asceticism, he maintains that the heart *cannot* be compared "to a glass of water" which one outpouring (i.e., marriage) diminishes; he also denies that God and woman are competitors for man's love. They are not of the same order of persons and "the divine sun can still be seen through the feminine star." But later in this essay ("The Evolution of Chastity") he worries over a certain "waste" or "loss" in conjugal love, a squandering of spiritual energy, and he wonders if marriage is not an unnecessary detour to God and the moment of absolute giving.

This ambivalence arises because, on one side, Teilhard was justifying a life which had bestowed on him much of his self-image. More than this, his tension about sex (and ultimately about Matter and the World), and his spiritual narcissism, arose from Teilhard's highly germ-free and abstract view of Woman. Contrary to Father Griffin, I cannot imagine Teilhard being in any way sexually fulfilled (any more than I can imagine D. H. Lawrence being so) when I find, as a corollary of his admittedly *adoring* view of his female cousin, such statements as "Woman is for Man the symbol and personification of all the complementarities expected of the Universe. . . . Because the World is always unfinished, Man attains Woman only in the consummated, Universal Union. . . . At the terminal point of the (problem of) the spiritual potency of Matter is the spiritual potency of the flesh and the feminine. . . . The Feminine is the most formidable of all the forces of Matter, certainly. 'Then we must escape it,' say the moralists. 'Then we must master it,' I answer. . . . Less than any of the domains of Matter, the Feminine cannot escape the triumphant domination of Spirit." ("The Evolution of Chastity") Which is really placing one's "treasure," in an abstract heaven because one lived in an abstract personal world.

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